

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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R 071537Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0283
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1542

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SW, FI, NO, UR
SUBJ: SWEDISH POSITION ON NORWEGIAN-FINNISH SECURITY POLICY
EXCHANGE

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 1498 (NOTAL, (B) HELSINKI 0660.

1. NEUTRAL SWEDEN, AS FAR AS IS KNOWN, HAS NOT BEEN ASKED
EITHER BY THE FINNS OR THE NORWEGIANS TO TAKE SIDES (OR ANY
POSITION AT ALL) ON THE CURRENT DISPUTE BETWEEN HELSINKI AND
OSLO OVER THE QUESTION OF WHETHER NORWEGIAN SECURITY POLICY
IS UNDERGOING QTE SIGNIFICANT UNQTE CHANGE. THE GOS FOLLOWS
CLOSELY ALL ASPECTS OF NORDIC SECURITY POLICIES WHICH IT
CONSIDERS TO HAVE RELEVANCE TO SWEDISH SECURITY. THE SWEDES
HAVE ALSO HAD TRADITIONALLY AN INTENSE FASCINATION WITH
THE DEVELOPMENT OF FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY AS
THEY MAY TOUCH UPON SECURITY QUESTIONS IN NORTHERN EUROPE.
IT IS NO SURPRISE, THEREFORE, TO DISCOVER THAT THE SWEDES
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HAVE FOLLOWED THE PUBLISHED EXCHANGES REGARDING FINNISH CONCERN
OVER FRG TROOP PARTICIPATION IN NATO MANEUVERS IN NORWAY
WITH UTMOST ATTENTION.

2. ONE SUCH REFLECTION OF GOS INTEREST WAS THE PASSAGE IN
FOREIGN MINISTER KARIN SODER'S FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH TO THE
RIKSDAG ON MARCH 30 (REF A) IN WHICH SHE SAID: QTE WE NOTE

WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE SITUATION IN THE NORDIC AREA IS CHARACTERIZED BY CALM AND STABILITY, EVEN IF WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE REASON TO TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THE SIGNS OF THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY THE SUPER-POWERS TO THE NORTHERN CALOTTE AND SURROUNDING AREAS. IT IS OF VITAL INTEREST TO US THAT NOTHING OCCURS TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION. NOR HAVE WE ANY REASON TO ASSUME THAT SUCH CHANGES ARE BEING CONTEMPLATED IN ANY QUARTER. UNQTE.

3. MFA SECRETARY GENERAL SVERKER ASTROM, WHO WITHER DRAFTED OR CLEARED THE FINAL VERSION OF SODER'S SPEECH, TOOK PAINS IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH POLCOUNS TO PRESENT THE BACK-GROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS SECTION DEVOTED TO NORDIC SECURITY. ASTROM SAID IT WAS DELIBERATELY INSERTED: (A) TO REMIND ALL INTERESTED PARTIES THAT GOS IS FOLLOWING THIS PARTICULAR DEBATE VERY CAREFULLY; AND (B) TO SIGNAL TO THE SOVIETS, FINNS, AND NORWEGIANS THAT IN THE WEDISH VIEW FRG TROOP PARTICIPATION IN NATO MANEUVERS IN NORWAY DOES NOT REPRESENT THAT KIND OF CHANGE IN FUNDAMENTAL SECURITY POLICIES IN THE NORDIC AREA WHICH WOULD CAUSE CONCERN TO THE GOS.

4. ASTROM SAID SOVIET AMBASSADOR MIKHAIL JAKOVLEV HAD REQUESTED A MEETING WITH HIM AT MFA ON APRIL 1 PRECISELY TO DISCUSS THESE FEW SENTENCES IN SODER'S SPEECH. JAKOVLEV ASKED WHETHER SODER'S STATEMENT INDICATED THAT SWEDEN WAS ALIGNING ITSELF WITH THE NORWEGIAN POSITION ON THIS QUESTION. JAKOVLEV WAS READ THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE BY ASTROM: QTE ALMOST ANY CHANGE IN THE PATTERN OF SECURITY POLICIES IN THE NORDIC AREA WOULD BE A CHANGE FOR THE WORSE. IT IS CRUCIAL IN THE SWEDISH CONFIDENTIAL

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VIEW THAT NO NORDIC COUNTRY MAKE ANY CHANGE OF A PRINCIPAL CHARACTER IN ITS SECURITY POLICY. AND THIS APPLIES TO DANISH AND NORWEGIAN (MILITARY) BASE POLICY AS WELL AS FINNISH NEUTRALITY POLICY. THIS ALSO MEANS THAT ANY PROPOSAL FOR SUCH CHANGE--WHETHER COMING FROM WITHIN THE NORDIC AREA OR FROM OUTSIDE IT--WOULD CAUSE CONCERN IN SWEDEN. SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD CARRY THE RISK OF STIMULATING SPECULATION IN THE NORDIC AREA. BUT, AS WE POINTED OUT, SWEDEN DOES NOT BELIEVE ANY SUCH PROPOSALS ARE BEING CONTEMPLATED. UNQTE. JAKOVLEV, WHO ASTROM SAID RARELY MAKE COMMENTS UNLESS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS, SAID MERELY THAT HE WOULD REPORT THE MESSAGE TO MOSCOW.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1542

5. WHILE SWEDISH MEDIA HAVE GIVEN HAVEY PLAY TO ONGOING
FINISH-NORWEGIAN EXCHANGE, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE SWEDISH COMMENT
THUS FAR. AN EDITORIAL IN INDEPENDENT DAGENS NYHETER,
HOWEVER, APPLAUDED THE QTE BITTER AND JUSTIFIABLE REMINDER
UNQTEDIRECTED AT SAARINEN BY BRATTELI AND OTHERS THAT THE
GON DOES NOT CONTROL THE NORWEGIAN PRESS. THE PAPER SAW
NO REASON TO ARGUE WITH THE GOS POSITION WHICH, IT SAID, WAS
CRITICAL OF FINNISH STATEMENTS THAT NORWAY IS CHANGING ITS
SECURITY POLICY.

6. COMMENT: MFA SOURCES HAVE TOLD EMBASSY THAT GOS WELL
UNDERSTANDS THAT HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET VISITS TO HELSINKI ARE
OFTEN PRECEDED, ACCOMPANIED OR FOLLOWED BY FINNISH MOVES
WHICH APPEAR TO MIRROR OR CONFORM TO SOVIET CONCERNS. THEY ARE
NEVERTHELESS NONPLUSSED OVER THE APPARENTLY EXTREME SERIOUSNESS
WITH WHICH FINNS REGARD NORWEGIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMAN PART-
ICIPATION IN NATO MANEUVERS IN NORWAY. THE WONDER OUT LOUD
THAT ELEMENT IN FINNISH-SOVIET AFFAIRS HAS LED KEKKONEN TO
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OVERSEE CONSCIOUSLY THE RAPID DETERIORATION OF FINNISH RELATIONS
WITH NORWAY, PARTICULARLY IN THE FACE OF NUMEROUS NORWEGIAN
REASSURANCES THAT NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN SECURITY POLICY HAS
TAKEN PLACE. THE SWEDISH POSITION, WHICH WE BELIEVE THE
SOVIETS UNDERSTAND, F NON-ALIGNMENT WITH BOTH THE NORWEGIAN AND
THE FINNISH POSITIONS. IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THE SOVIETS
MAY WELL CONSIDER THAT THIS POSITION IS MORE HELPFUL TO NORWAY

THAN TO FINLAND. AS A MATTER OF FACT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE
SWEDES ARE CONCERNED ABOUT GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN MANEUVERS IN
NORWAY, EXCEPT TO THE EXTENT THE ISSUE CAUSES CONTROVERSY
AMONG THE NORDIC COUNTRIES. SWEDEN'S PRINCIPAL CONCERN,
AS ALWAYS, IS ITS OWN SECURITY AS A NEUTRAL LYING BETWEEN
A NATO COUNTRY AND FINLAND WITH ITS SPECIAL PRESSURES
COMING FROM THE USSR. WHILE SWEDISH POLICY IN THIS CURRENT
SITUATION IS SUBTLE, AND CUTS A LITTLE IN ALL DIRECTIONS,
WE THINK ITS PRINCIPAL AIM IS TO BUTTRESS FINLAND AS SHE
IS BEING LEANED ON BY THE USSR.
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